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SELECTED SPEECHES FOR PRACTICE

A Collection of Speeches and Excerpts, with Gems of Literature adapted for Practice in Speech, together with Suggestions for Methods of Practice

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NORTH AMERICAN INSTITUTE
CHICAGO

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PREFACE.

This book of selections for practice has been compiled with two ideas in mind: first, that the student may have a considerable variety of material, and second, that he may be able to proceed from small units of speech to complete speeches.

Versatility of utterance is greatly to be desired. A discriminating study and practice of the selections, short and long, cannot fail to give the student a fairly thorough mastery of different styles of delivery. Continued practice must end in the establishment of approved modes and processes of speech which will naturally assert themselves when the student, either in practice or in public, is expressing his own thought.

To keep in close contact with the master means the learning of the arts of the master. This does not mean that the student is to allow imitation of the master, but it

does mean that fundamental processes necessary to all excellent speech will, in time, become practically instinctive.

Let the student continually bear in mind that true vocal expression is dependent upon truth of conception and adequacy of experience of thought and emotion.

R. E. Pattison Kline.

SELECTED SPEECHES FOR PRACTICE

SUGGESTIONS.

The excerpts and speeches which appear on the following pages may be used to excellent advantage in that they will furnish further material in which may be found illustrations of those matters already discussed.

In addition to this use the following methods of practice are suggested:

First. Let the first step in study be a most careful analysis of the thought. Let the meaning of the words singly and in composition be unmistakably understood. Be sure that you go beyond what is said and grasp the suggested meaning. Be sure you know the thought of this matter you are studying as clearly as you know the thought which your own brain creates. In other words know that you are complete master of the thought.

Second. As you progress in your

thought analysis you will need to decide what the phrasing will be. You will remember that by phrasing is meant that massing closely together of a number of words into a group known as the thought unit phrase. This phrase is to be spoken as a group of syllables and not as a group of words. As far as the spoken phase of a phrase is concerned it is to be thought of as a long word and spoken with the same ease as that used in pronouncing a word of a number of syllables.

Third. Let the next point of study be the analysis of the emotion or the attitude of mind, or the purpose with which the thought is to be uttered. As many of the excerpts are separated by time from the exact situation it may be difficult to sense the atmosphere with which the words were originally spoken. By the atmosphere is meant the temper, or the mood, or the emotional state of the speaker at the time of the speaking.

Fourth. Having analyzed the thought and the emotion and made the phrasing, say the matter vocally in a conversational

volume, studying it to see if the vocal form says the idea which you think the matter contains. It must not be forgotten that vocal form is governed by thought and feeling, so in the speaking of the matter the student will need to see that his mind creates the thought before the utterance of it is given. If this has been done proceed to the next step.

Fifth. Place a chair in front of one in which you are sitting and speak the matter to an imaginary person sitting in the chair. Compel concentration of your powers upon this point of practice. It may seem strange and awkward at first, but persist in it. Imagine that at the first speaking your imaginary hearer did not grasp the meaning of what you are saying. Concentrate your mind more keenly upon the meaning of that which you wish to say, and without raising the pitch or increasing the volume press the meaning more pointedly upon your hearer. Carry this process further, by a third statement of the matter to your imaginary friend.

Sixth. Now rise to your feet, and place

three chairs about six feet in front of you. Make your speech to three imaginary people. Watch that your standing position is what it should be. When you speak let there be life, earnestness, and purpose in your utterances. Show much personal interest in what you are saying, and personal interest in those to whom you are speaking. Be sure that your spirit responds to the mood, or temper, or the emotion which the matter contains.

Seventh. Now, place your audience some distance in front of you, and let its size be increased to about fifty. Speak your speech three times to them, each time securing a more thorough centering of your mental powers upon conveying the thought, upon securing a greater response to the feeling and upon intensifying your purpose. At all times make the will active in directing, controlling and holding the personal powers to their work.

Eighth. Be sure that you have your material thoroughly memorized. If your attention is given to recalling the words it

cannot be used in guiding matters of delivery.

Ninth. Above all things, having thoroughly memorized the words, the student must not allow himself to speak them by rote. He must compel the mind to think the thought keenly and to realize the spirit of the speech.

Tenth. As a step between the memorized speech and the extempore speech, use any excerpt, or entire speech, and having made its thought completely yours, speak it before your audience in your own words. Make the speech three or four times, compelling yourself each time to use different sentence structure and different words.

Eleventh. In every instance of your practice, be sure that you open with a salutation of some kind. For example:

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with no little pleasure that I take advantage of this opportunity to speak to you upon the subject, "Self-Reliance."

Or

Ladies and Gentlemen: I can assure you that I consider it an honor to appear be-

fore you this evening. It is no small privilege accorded me in this opportunity to talk to you for a short time upon the topic announced by your chairman.

Work out a number of other sentences of salutation. Be sure to get close to your audience in spirit. Establish a sense of human companionship at the very start.

SPEECHES, PARAGRAPHS AND SENTENCES FOR PRACTICE.

Speak the commanding word: "I will," and it is done.—*Thompson.*

Let your courage be as keen, but at the same time as polished as your sword.—*Sheridan.*

Courage is the armed sentinel that guards liberty, innocence, and right.—*Anon.*

He only is advancing in life whose heart is getting softer, whose blood warmer, whose brain quicker, whose spirit is entering into living peace.

No life is wasted unless it ends in sloth, dishonesty, or cowardice.—*Huxley.*

All greatness of soul counts on the infinite time.—*Gunsaulus.*

It means more of victory that some men are good citizens than that many of you are saints.

It is a part of the philosophy of success to say that no honest struggle can issue in defeat or result in failure.

It is a man's sublimest moment when he finds how he can afford to fail, but he cannot afford to reserve a drop of blood.—*Gunsaulus.*

Therefore I say, lift a man; give him life, let him work eight hours a day, give him the school, develop his taste for music, give him a garden; give him beautiful things to see and good books to read, and you will starve out those lower appetites.—*Phillips.*

Actions, not law or policy—actions daring, doubtful, but instant; the new things of a new world—these are what the speaker counsels.—*Choate.*

It is a principle amply borne out by the history of the great and powerful nations of the earth that the best fruits and choicest actions of the commendable qualities of the national character are to be found on the side of the oppressed few and not of the triumphant many.—*Everett.*

The life of every nation, as of every individual, is a battle, and the victory is to those who fight with faith and undespairing devotion.—*Curtis.*

The end of a man's human destiny is surely not to be the best German, the best Roman, or the best father, but the best man he can be.—*Curtis.*

Wars and sieges pass away and great intellectual efforts cease to stir our hearts, but the man who sacrifices himself for his fellows, lives forever.—*Thomas Brackett Reed.*

There are always times when a man who is clear-headed is reproached with being hard-hearted.—*Arthur T. Hadley.*

I call your attention to several important things which are necessary qualifications for the successful young man. He must be honest, and he must be moral, and he must be sober.—*Andrew Carnegie.*

Ruskin said at one time, that for every thousand who can talk, there is but one who can think, and for every thousand who can think, there is but one who can see.

DUTY.

Duty determines destiny. Destiny which results from duty performed may bring anxiety and perils, but never failure and dishonor. Pursuing duty may not always lead by smooth paths. Another course may look easier and more attractive, but pursuing duty for duty's sake is always sure and safe and honorable.—*Wm. McKinley.*

THE WORK OF THE MINORITY.

It is a principle amply borne out by the history of the great and powerful nations of the earth, and by that of none more than the country of which we speak, that the best fruits and choicest action of the commendable qualities of the national character are to be found on the side of the oppressed few, and not of the triumphant many. As, in private character, adversity is often requisite to give a proper direction and temper to strong qualities, so the noblest traits of national character in all countries, our own not excepted, will often be found in times of trial and disaster, in

the ranks of a protesting minority or of a dissenting sect. Never was this truth more clearly illustrated than in the settlement of New England.—*Edward Everett.*

JUDGMENT.

Judgment is the application of the trained intellect to human lives. It is the power to see, to appreciate, and to use the truth in improving the condition of mankind.—*Charles F. Thwing, D. D.*

HUMAN PROGRESS.

The path of human progress is marked by the succession of saving principles and ideas, and each generation treads that path with certain step, as it hails its own idea, then summons its chosen ones, and bids them guard and serve it in loyalty and faith.—*William Jewett Tucker, LL. D.*

THE AIM OF DELIBERATIVE ELOQUENCE.

If you bear in mind that the aim of deliberative eloquence is to persuade to an action, and that to persuade to an action

it must be shown that to perform it will gratify some one of the desires, or affections, or sentiments—you may call them altogether passions, which are the springs of all action, some love of our own happiness, some love of our country, some love of man, some love of honor, some approval of our own conscience, some fear or some love of God, you will see that eloquence will be characterized,—first, by the nature of the actions to which it persuades; secondly, by the nature of the desire, or affection, or sentiment,—the nature of the passion, in other words,—by an appeal to which it seeks to persuade to action; and then, I say, that the capital peculiarity of the eloquence of all times of revolution, is that the actions it persuades to are the highest and the most heroic that men can do; and the passions it would inspire in order to persuade to them, are the most lofty which men can feel.—*Rufus Choate.*

THE BATTLES OF THE PEOPLE.

We fight not only the battle of the people against the powers that prey upon

them, but also we fight the battles of civilization against the powers that oppose it. With all my soul I believe in the powers of light against the powers of darkness. Sometimes those powers of darkness and of light are arrayed in a contest as broad as the state; sometimes they are arrayed in a conflict that embraces the nation. But in the end they include all nations and all humanity. Always in one form or another, old privilege holds his sway, yet always the people advance upon him and his hosts, and in the end the people triumph. —*Albert J. Beveridge.*

THE BEGINNING OF GOODNESS.

The beginning of goodness is to stand on one's own feet. This requires moral stamina now that there are so many new ways of being a parasite. For your tainted news is a climbing upon other people's backs, Mr. Editor. So is your secret rebate, Mr. Shipper; your stock juggle, Mr. Financier; your perfunctory supervision, Mr. Official; your whitewashing investigation, Mr. Legislator; your hold-up strike, Mr. Walking Delegate.—*Edward A. Ross.*

WHAT IS EDUCATION?

Education is such a development of our faculties and powers as enables us to be masters wherever we are placed—masters of ourselves and masters of our condition. And we need, incidentally, to know enough to know where we are and what we are there for.—*Minot Judson Savage, D. D.*

THE NEW PATRIOTISM.

The new patriotism has other duties than those of armed conflict; duties less splendid, but no less onerous, and requiring no less bravery, requiring bravery of a greater order than that which shone upon a hundred battlefields of our Civil War. The roll call of cowards among those who wore the Blue or the Gray is insignificant indeed. But how many men in our day, when put to the test of civic courage, have we beheld turn cowards and recreants? How many political careers have we seen blighted by conscienceless compromise or base surrender?—*Richard Watson Gilder.*

SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

Now, if anything is obvious, if anything has been demonstrated by the history of this government, it is that our democratic institutions cannot be successfully worked, unless we can somehow secure the prevalence of an intelligent public opinion on public matters and a general willingness on the part of our citizens to offer whatever sacrifices and render whatever services are required to make that public opinion operative.—*James R. Angell, LL. D.*

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Self-government is not a mere form of institutions to be had when desired; it is a form of character. It follows upon the long discipline which gives a people self-possession, self-mastery, a habit of order and peace and common counsel and a reverence for law which will not fail when they themselves become the lawmakers; the steadiness of self-control and political maturity.—*Woodrow Wilson.*

PEACE OF MIND AND HAPPINESS.

Peace of mind is the foundation of real happiness; and this peace is the fruit of duty perfectly fulfilled, of moderation in desire, of blessed hope, of pure affections. Nothing lofty, nothing beautiful, nothing good, is done on earth save at the cost of suffering and self-abnegation; and the sacrifice alone is fruitful.—*George Sand.*

JUDGING A NATION.

A nation must be judged in part by the character of its public men, not merely by their ability, but by their ideals and the measure in which they realize these ideals; by their attitude in private life and much more by their attitude in public life, both as regards their conception of their duties toward their country and their conception of the duty of that country, embodied in its government, toward its own people and toward foreign states.—*Anon.*

HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

What is human knowledge? It is the cultivation and improvement of the spiritual principle in man. We are composed of two

elements; the one, a little dust caught up from the earth, to which we shall soon return; the other, a spark of that divine intelligence, in which and through which we bear the image of the great Creator. By knowledge, the wings of the intellect are spread; by ignorance, they are closed and palsied, and the physical passions are left to gain the ascendency. Knowledge opens all the senses to the wonders of creation; ignorance seals them up, and leaves the animal propensities unbalanced by reflection, enthusiasm, and taste.—*Edward Everett.*

TODAY IS YOURS.

Today is yours.

The past has revealed to you all its secrets, the future hangs over you like the mist of the morning, but the present is as clear and distinct as a mid-day sun. Therefore, act. You are the master of your fate and you are the captain of your soul. Every day is the beginning of a new epoch in your life.

With the coming of every morning's sun

comes a new opportunity. The future is resplendent and shining with new things to be accomplished. We are standing on the threshold of a new era. Literature, art, science and commerce have but just begun. There is no finality. There is no limitation.

The inventor, the genius and the creator have just started their work. There are greater things to be than have ever been. You and I must prepare ourselves to do the world's work. The new year offers us a great opportunity all along the line. World peace is coming. A world patriotism is on the way. A universal brotherhood is not a far-off, hazy ideal. Intricate and complicated problems of government and society are demanding solution.

All these are just ahead. Social and economic injustice must be fought. Liberality in religion and democracy must be upheld. Truth, freedom and reason must be enshrined.

The ethics of the world teacher must be planted in the hearts of men. All this, my friends, is the message of the new year. You have a "new leaf" before you. Be

true and honest with yourself. All that sage or philosopher can now say to you is "Look into your heart and write finis."—*Rev. Preston Bradley* (*People's Church, Chicago*).

LAUGH AWAY THE CLOUDS.

Mistakes are to be laughed at. If one were to take seriously every little mistake he made, life would become a burden to him. Laugh at your own little mistakes and do not feel grieved if others laugh at them. Laughing will help you remember to avoid them another time quite as well as giving away to serious regrets. Some people are forever taking themselves to task for some shortcoming. They are the overconscientious ones. If we act foolishly on the impulse of a moment, it is no more fair to punish ourselves than to punish a child for a little mistake. It is right to look for the error and acknowledge it. If one has wronged another, he ought to confess it and be more careful; then put it out of mind. To grow morose and solemn is to commit a second fault. No one is

doing any good to himself or others by constantly eating the bread of penitence. The only time to remember a mistake is when one is tempted again to the same fault. Daily and hourly keeping up self-reproach, one is worn out. This does not mean never to listen to the warnings of conscience, but to see the fault, start afresh and keep cheerful and hopeful.—*Milwaukee Journal.*

THE TRUE TEST OF A COUNTRY.

I tell you, sir, the wealth and prosperity of a nation should not be judged by the fortunes of the few. I would much prefer to belong to that school of thought who believe that the true test to determine the prosperity and happiness of a country is to observe how nearly absent hunger and want actually are among the industrious, law-abiding citizens thereof. The riches of the modern Dives is no certificate that will palliate the gnawing stomach of the hungry modern Lazarus. I would prefer to cluster around that group of citizens who believe that the most solid foundation stone of the

Republic consists of our ability to ever keep the powers and responsibilities of government as well distributed among our people as is possible to do.—*Hon. Scott Ferris* (*Oklahoma*).

IDEAL CIVILIZATION NO IMPOSSIBLE DREAM.

It is no impossible dream to build up a civilization in which morality, ethical development, and a true feeling of brotherhood shall all alike be divorced from false sentimentality, and from the rancorous and evil passions which, curiously enough, so often accompany professions of sentimental attachment to the rights of man; in which a high material development in the things of the body shall be achieved without subordination of the things of the soul; in which there shall be a genuine desire for peace and justice without loss of those virile qualities without which no love of peace or justice shall avail any race; in which the fullest development of scientific research, the great distinguishing feature of our present civilization, shall yet not

imply a belief that intellect can ever take the place of character—for, from the standpoint of the nation as of the individual, it is character that is the one vital possession.

Finally, this world movement of civilization, this movement which is now felt throbbing in every corner of the globe, should bind the nations of the world together while yet leaving unimpaired that love of country in the individual citizen which in the present stage of the world's progress is essential to the world's well-being. You, my hearers, and I who speak to you, belong to different nations. Under modern conditions the books we read, the news sent by telegraph to our newspapers, the strangers we meet, half of the things we hear and do each day, all tend to bring us into touch with other peoples. Each people can do justice to itself only if it does justice to others; but each people can do its part in the world movement for all only if it first does its duty within its own household. The good citizen must be a good citizen of his own country first

before he can with advantage be a citizen of the world at large. I wish you well. I believe in you and your future. I admire and wonder at the extraordinary greatness and variety of your achievements in so many and such widely different fields; and my admiration and regard are all the greater, and not the less, because I am so profound a believer in the institutions and the people of my own land.—*Theodore Roosevelt.*

DEVELOPING MEN.

There is no undertaking so humble or so great that it can be performed acceptably without due attention to the matter of detail. Any contractor can tell you that there are degrees of efficiency in digging, in laying bricks, or making mortar, just as there is in designing the intricate plans for the construction of the skyscraper.

Every woman knows that the laundress, who is a mere machine, and who soaks and scrubs the clothes when her mind is engaged with other things, does not begin to do her work as well as the woman who pays attention to the wash tub details.

It is easy to see why the principle should grow to have more effect as the importance of the task increases.

Attention to details, however, does not imply that a man necessarily attend to all details himself. In any big enterprise that would be impossible, for a one-man business is hemmed in by restrictions which prevents its growth beyond certain well-defined limits.

John D. Rockefeller could never have created the Standard Oil Company if he had confined himself to such lines. He had the genius for taking pains, but his genius pointed in a different direction. He took pains to construct a perfect organization—a machine that was so complete in all its details that it would run smoothly whether he was there to watch it or not. Instead of spending all the energy of his brain and body in sticking postage stamps and opening oil wells he exercised his genius in discovering and developing good men until they were able to do such work for him.—*Iron City Trades Journal.*

THE FERTILIZING FUNCTION OF ART.

Now, one word more. Where does all of this art come from? What is the source of it? My opinion of it is that all art, that is real art, is the expression squeezed out of the experience of nations and races by superimposed centuries of struggle and effort. What are you going to do with this substance, produced like diamonds under this immense pressure? You cannot properly and justly stack it up along the boulevards and in art institutions. It must go back on the land where it came from if you are going to fertilize that land and have an art productive country. We have no native art in the United States, but we have numerous people in a city like this who have come from countries which have suffered the pressure which has produced art over there. It seems to me the part of wisdom and justice to get back to them with some of these products. I thank you.—*Edward Yeoman.*

WHY AMERICANS SUCCEED.

In the many reports and explanations educated observers are making to the governments and newspapers of Europe upon America's financial and industrial leadership, we are beginning to find the broad truth which they have discovered underlying the great mass of facts and statistics.

First, it was the extent of our natural resources. Second, it was the push and vitality of a new people drawing upon the expertness of the old. Then it was the combination of politics and events which threw upon this land the majority of the passing advantages.

Now, finally, the real truth is dawning and it has a brighter significance than all that has gone before. In brief, it recognizes that the source of American strength is to be found in the democracy of effort and achievement and opportunity which exists here as it has never existed in any other place at any other period in the world's history.

Mr. Carnegie has been busy telling Englishmen and Scotchmen about it and con-

tending that America was necessary to prop up the sovereignty of the English-speaking people all over the world. Lord Charles Beresford only a few months ago took off his hat to America because he found in her population the strength which was making itself invincible everywhere, and the other day, after his defeat, Sir Thomas Lipton declared, "In England there are classes and classes and classes; classes that do not mix. Here all are in touch. The New Yorker who has his home on Fifth Avenue goes downtown to his business and transacts it touching elbows with others who are striving for wages or wealth, and there is a kind feeling here which no man can fail to note—a feeling that one man is as good as another."

The other day an American manufacturer, who had invaded Europe, gave a banquet in London to his English clerks and representatives. It simply startled the Englishmen. Nothing like it had ever occurred in their experience. Here was the American millionaire meeting them as friends. They wondered and wondered,

but they got up from the table with a new pride in their breasts and with a new usefulness for their employer.

We read and hear much about inherited wealth and the aristocracy it threatens to create, but if we watch very carefully we shall see that even the rich man's son must take his chances in the competition of the day. In spite of all that can be arrayed to show class distinctions there is far more of vital democracy among us than a superficial observation shows.

As we dig down we see that in this equality is not only the strength of our government, but the effectiveness of our work. There is planted in every breast the idea that one may accomplish wealth or position if the proper effort and intelligence are used. This belief is an uplifting power greater and stronger than any adventitious influence.

It is, too, a power that will keep the nation forever young, because it flows from an eternal spring of work and ambition. Our future presidents are touching elbows at the crossroads or in the crowded streets.

Our future plutocrats are plodding away at their tasks. Great is today, but tomorrow has a sunshine and beauty of its own. —*Saturday Evening Post.*

A COMMON STRUGGLE FOR THE COMMON MAN.

More than that. The great struggle of today, the struggle of the common man, the battle for rights against privileges, the long, slow striving for government of the people by the people and for the people—these struggles are the same in Britain, in the United States, in Canada. In outward form there is difference and variety, but at the heart of each there is the old Anglo-Saxon impulse, the passion for freedom, the unquenched loyalty to truth and justice which the world over and the ages through marks the men of the Anglo-Saxon breed.

And in this common struggle no one member of the English-speaking fraternity can win or can lose alone. The struggle in England in the seventeenth century between the common people and the cavaliers of King Charles was a struggle in which

the coming democracy of America was involved. Similarly in the eighteenth century the protest of the American colonies against injustice carried with it not only American independence, but also the wider freedom of Englishmen at home. So, too, in the nineteenth century the great reform bill that gave franchise rights to the common people in Britain cleared the political atmosphere in the United States as well. When a generation ago this American republic joined in life-and-death grips with human slavery, not American democracy alone, but the hope of the democracy in Britain, in Canada and in all the English-speaking world hung trembling in the balance. And now again it is Britain's turn. Without tremor or halting Britain once more takes the lead. Against the most venerable and arrogant institution of intrenched and age-long privilege the democracy of Britain went up, resolute and unafraid, and turned not back until the veto power of the house of lords over the deliberately expressed will of the common people was destroyed forever. In that

victory of British democracy, the most stupendous and far-reaching the English-speaking world has witnessed in 300 years, the lead was given to the democracy of the United States and of Canada in the fight which has only begun against the more sordid and less defensible privileged interests that control opportunity and obstruct legislation and defy justice under the union jack as under the stars and stripes all over this North American continent.—*John A. McDonald* (*The Continent*).

OUR GOVERNMENT THE MODEL.

There is every reason why the United States should be on terms of affectionate political intimacy with the other governments of this continent. They profess the same political faith that we hold; they have flattered us by modeling their governments on ours, and it can not be truthfully said that any one of them has ever menaced us in our territory or sovereignty. As we set out to walk so have they also undertaken to travel. We gave them a set of

political principles, and now it is our duty to leave them an opportunity to develop along the lines that may seem best to them.

In the eighteenth century effort to transfer power from church and king to the people the English colonies in America were leaders. It was the success of the movement that they led and the setting up of a government by the people that was safe and conservative, while it also protected life and property, that at once commanded the attention of the world. In royal circles it caused apprehension; among the people whose contributions kept luster in the purple of the kings it developed high hopes that justified the fears of their masters.

Among the supporters of kings the methods of the young republic were sneered at and its quick collapse predicted. Instead of crumbling, it waxed strong, and its fame spread the length and breadth of this vast continent. It became an exemplar for all liberty-loving American communities.

Information of what was done by Washington, Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson

spread from the St. Lawrence to the River Plata. It crossed the Andes and forced its way through tropical jungles, carrying light and hope to the oppressed sons of men everywhere, alike on the mountain tops and by the sea at the Equator.

Kings who saw the menace to their system of personal government in the new movement pointed to the violent and unreasonable outburst in France as evidence of the incapacity of men to govern themselves. It did bring discredit to the republican system for a while, but for a brief while only.

The conspicuous success of the American Republic had a liberalizing effect on governments of the Old World and became an example and inspiration for the new.—*Anon.*

TEMPTATION SHOWS WORTH OF PERSON.

It is impossible for us to understand the moral development of a man without some knowledge of the temptations that have crossed his path. In analyzing those fac-

tors which have entered into the moral success of a man we find that the part his temptations have played is the leading role in his drama of life. The highest example that we have of the moral life is found in the character of Jesus. His biographers have portrayed the character and scope of His temptations. There was nothing startling or unique in the temptations of Jesus. They came at a time in His life when they were most severe and at a time when He was the weakest. They were real tests of His power. They revealed His humanity. Without temptation in His own life He could have had no sympathetic attitude for humankind.

The man whose life is spent in ease and refinement can never appreciate the position of the man who is having a terrific struggle. The man whose heart has never been torn by a great grief can never understand the value or depth of his own happiness. The man whose whole moral nature has not been swept by some mighty surge of a great temptation can never feel the moral security of one who fought and won.

Great and terrific temptations are necessary to strong and powerful lives.—*Preston Bradley* (*People's Church*).

EFFECT OF PATERNALISM.

The paternalism which manifests itself in Germany in state ownership of public utilities, a vast and complex system of state education, including trade and vocational schools, and above all in an elaborate system of industrial pensions, is said by some observers to be reacting upon the German character.

Dr. Jastrow, a well-known economist of the University of Berlin, thinks the workingman is showing less self-reliance and is more dependent. Another prominent man, a former minister of public affairs, is positive in his assertion that German workingmen, "and nearly all other Germans, for that matter," are gradually losing their independence and looking for a sure thing. "They want," he says, "to become pensioners or government servants; anything that will relieve them from the necessity of constant effort and alertness. The host

of petty officials necessary for the administration of public utilities and of the pension system also, it is declared, has created an undesirable element.

It is but just to say that many well-known Germans deny that any bad effect of state paternalism is visible, and workmen themselves insist that it has caused no change in their attitude toward their work, one proof offered being that the industrial pensions offered are too small to create any desire for idleness or any sense of dependence. However this may be, it is easy to see that dependence on the government for work and compensation and pensions must eventually create a changed attitude toward the world, whether the change be for the worse or not, and students of social movements will watch the progress of affairs in Germany with especial interest.—*The Indianapolis Star.*

ROBERT BURNS KNEW STRUGGLES OF MAN.

One hundred and fifty-five years ago today Robert Burns was born. The same century saw the birth of Goethe and Schil-

ler in Germany, and of Sir Walter Scott in Scotland. Goethe was the interpreter of religion and statecraft. Schiller raised the ideals of culture and learning, and these have molded the thought of Germany during this long period. Scott portrayed the life of his day with accuracy and vividness, but it was for Burns to be the poet who wrote of humanity, who understood the struggles of man, and to set forth the great goals of men in their living.

Burns is the poet of the home. Where in any language is a poem of such beautiful and lofty strain regarding the home as the "Cotter's Saturday Night"? A home without wealth, or culture, it is a home of the toiling class, where love binds the household stronger than steel, where character is worth more than gold, and where religion is more essential than daily bread. The Bible is its guide, and a praying father is its inspiration.

And Burns had religion: Notwithstanding his own battle for moral rectitude, he believed in a God of tenderness and forgiveness. The religion of creed was re-

pulsive, and he used his sarcasm against it. He praised the religion of a pure and holy life. Conduct was the test of religion. As he neared the end he testified an absolute confidence in the immortality of the soul.—*Rev. Ralph D. Kearns* (*Calvary Presbyterian Church*), *Chicago.*

HOW TO SUCCEED.

In life we are subject to all sorts of reverses, great and small. There is only one way of providing against the depression which they bring in their train, and that is by acquiring the large outlook which shows that they are not the most important things in life. The undergraduate may find himself plowed in an examination or in debt or for that matter (and do not let us overlook its possibility) hopeless in a love affair. Or he may suffer from the depression which is deepest when it arises from no external cause. If he would escape from the consequent sense of despair he must visualize his feelings and set them in relief by seeking and searching out their grounds.

It is probably his best chance of deliv-
erance. For these feelings often turn out
on resolute scrutiny to arise from the ob-
session of his own personality. This obses-
sion may assume varied forms. It may
become really morbid. There is a remark-
able book by a modern man of genius, one
whom Nietzsche and Ibsen both held in
high esteem—the "Inferno" of August
Strindberg—where you may read with ad-
vantage if you would be warned against
a self-concentration that verges on the in-
sane. There is another and better known
book which in my time at the university
was much read and which is, I think, still
much read, Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus."
There you have an analysis of the very
process of deliverance of which I am speak-
ing. The hero works out his own relief
from the burden of his depression.

You must aim at the largest and widest
view of life and devote your highest ener-
gies to attaining it. This view of life,
with its sustaining power, will come to
you if you strive hard enough.

* * * * * * * *

The only foundation of what is abiding, is the sense of the reality of what is spiritual—the constant presence of the God who is not far away in the skies, but is within our minds and hearts.

How is the student, with or without the supreme source of strength of which I have spoken, to prepare himself so that he will have the best chances of success? I have seen something of men and of affairs. I have observed the alternations of success and failure in various professions and occupations. I have myself experienced many ups and downs, and in the course of my own life have made abundant mistakes. It always interests me to look back and observe in the light of later and fuller knowledge how I came to fail on particular occasions. And the result of the scrutiny has been to render it clear that the mistakes and failures would nearly always have been avoided had I at the time been possessed of more real knowledge and of firmer decision and persistence.

We all, or nearly all, get a fair number of chances in life. But we often do not

know enough to be able to take them, and we still more often pass them by, unconscious that they exist. Get knowledge and get courage. And when you have come to a deliberate decision then go ahead, and go ahead with grim and unshakable resolution to persist.

* * * * * * * *

We may be unconscious of the jarring manner; that is very common. But it ought to be avoided. It is worth the while of every one, and from every point of view, that of his own worldly interest included, to practice himself in the social virtue of courtesy and urbane manners. Let us accept what comes to us undisturbed.

Given the same qualities, a man will be stronger as well as better, and will have more power of influencing circumstances as well as other people, if he is resolute in accepting without complaint what comes to him, and remembers the duties of his station in life, and thinks of others as much as of himself.—*Vincent Haldane, Lord Chancellor of England.*

THE MARK OF A REAL MAN.

It is easy to run with the crowd and to follow the example of that French revolutionary who, hearing the noise and the roar of the street, cried out, "There go the people; I must follow them, for I am their leader." But to stand with patience and self-control in a post of high responsibility when a strong current of public opinion goes sweeping by, careless of consequences and unrestrained in its expression of feeling, is the mark of a real man.—*Nicholas Murray Butler.*

REASON AND FORCE.

Reasoning begins when instinct fails or is inhibited. So long as we can confidently act, we do not argue, but when we face conditions abounding in uncertainty or when we are confronted by alternative possibilities, we first hesitate, then feel our way, then guess, and at length venture to reason. Reasoning, accordingly, is that action of the mind to which we resort when the possibilities before us and about us

are distributed substantially according to the law of chance occurrence, or, as the mathematician would say, in accordance with "the normal curve" of random frequency. The moment the curve is obviously skewed, we decide. If it is obviously skewed from the beginning, by bias, or interest, by prejudice, authority, or coercion, our reasoning is futile or imperfect. So, in the state, if any interest or coalition of interests is dominant and can act promptly, it rules by absolutist methods. Whether it is benevolent or cruel, it wastes neither time nor resources upon government by discussion. But if interests are innumerable, and so distributed as to offset one another, and if no great bias or overweighting anywhere appears, government by discussion inevitably arises. The interests can get together only if they talk. So, too, in international relations. If in coming years these shall be adjusted by reason instead of by force, by arbitration instead of by war, it will be because a true balance of power has been attained. If any one power of coalition of powers shall be able

to dictate, it will also rule, and the appeal to reason will be vain.—*Franklin H. Giddings.*

THE SPIRIT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Self-governing people must have the spirit which makes them self-controlled, which makes every man competent and willing to govern his impulses by the rule of declared principle. And more than that, men in a self-governed democracy must have a love of liberty that means not merely one's own liberty but others' liberty. We must respect the opinions and the liberty of the opinions of our countrymen. That spirit excludes hatred of our opponents. That spirit excludes a desire to abuse, to vilify, to destroy. All of us in foreign lands have felt the blood rush to the head, and felt the heart beat quicker, felt a suffusion of feeling upon seeing our country's flag floating in strange ports and in distant cities. That, my friends, is but a false sentiment unless it carries with it a love not only for the flag but for the coun-

trymen under the flag. True love of country is not an abstraction. It means a little different feeling toward every American because he is American. It means a desire that every American shall be prosperous; it means kindly consideration for his opinions, for his views, for his interests, for his prejudices, and charity for his follies and his errors. The man who loves his country only that he may be free does not love his country. He loves only himself and his own way and that is not self-government, but is the essence of despotism.—*Elihu Root.*

THE DAWN OF WORLD PEACE.

The development of the doctrine of international arbitration, considered from the standpoint of its ultimate benefits to the human race, is the most vital movement of modern times. In its relation to the well-being of the men and women of this and ensuing generations, it exceeds in importance the proper solution of various economic problems which are constant themes of legislative discussion or enact-

ment. It is engaging the attention of many of the most enlightened minds of the civilized world. It derives impetus from the influence of churches, regardless of denominational differences. Societies of noble-minded women, organizations of worthy men, are giving their moral and material support to governmental agencies in their effort to eliminate, as causes of war, disputes which frequently have led to armed conflicts between nations. The principle of justice to the weak as well as to the strong is prevailing to an extent heretofore unknown in history. Rules of conduct which govern men in their relations to one another are being applied in an ever-increasing degree to nations. The battlefield as a place of settlement of disputes is gradually yielding to arbitral courts of justice. The interests of the great masses are not being sacrificed, as in former times, to the selfishness, ambitions and aggrandizement of sovereigns, or to the intrigues of statesmen unwilling to surrender their scepter of power. Religious wars happily are specters of a medieval or ancient past,

and the Christian Church is laboring valiantly to fulfill its destiny of "Peace on earth."

If the United States has a mission, besides developing the principles of the brotherhood of man into a living, palpable force, it seems to me that it is to blaze the way to universal arbitration among the nations, and bring them into more complete amity than ever before existed. It is known to the world that we do not covet the territory of our neighbors, or seek the acquisition of lands on other continents. We are free of such foreign entanglements as frequently conduce to embarrassing complications, and the efforts we make in behalf of international peace cannot be regarded with a suspicion of ulterior motives. The spirit of justice governs our relations with other countries, and therefore we are specially qualified to set a pace for the rest of the world.—*William H. Taft.*

STRENGTH REALIZING WEAKNESS.

The crowd was surging, pushing, squeezing, elbowing, struggling to enter a Sub-

way car. One unfortunate was jostling against a hulking middle-aged well-dressed man, who retaliated by bumping him roughly and ill-naturedly with the right shoulder. Once inside, the giant, who had found a seat, noticed that the poor fellow (left standing) was very lame, one leg being shorter than the other.

The six-footer colored with shame, rose from his seat, persuaded the maimed one to sit down, and in very subdued tones offered a thousand apologies for the roughness and bad temper he had displayed.

I wonder if this incident, commonplace enough in a busy city, can convey to you the sentiment, the lesson it brought home to me. It taught me a new conception of humanity, a new way of regarding mankind.

Would it not be well if all those of us who are strong, if all those in positions of power, if all entrusted with authority over fellow-beings could view mankind as frail and weak and maimed?

Are we not all frail? Are we not all weak? Are we not all afflicted? Do we

not all carry burdens? Do we not need consideration?

I attended once a huge mass meeting of Transvaal miners, rough, daredevil, rugged, weatherbeaten fellows. A famous writer sat on the platform, looking down upon the five thousand faces. In his account of the gathering he called those faces dials, registering how each man was waging his ceaseless fight with the flesh and the devil. And he went on to remark that this fight was common, not alone in miners, but to all mankind, and that none of us could affect superiority to it.

One more incident from life.

A Labor Day parade was passing down Fifth avenue, New York. Traffic was stopped. An automobile came along a cross street and the occupants, two ladies and a gentleman, finding they could not ride farther, got out and walked toward a luxurious restaurant. One of the ladies accidentally stepped near the edge of the sidewalk and almost brushed against the marchers. She shrank back with a look of horror on her face and an ostentatious

shrug of the shoulders. Some of the toilers noticed the exhibition and there was a mild jeer—nothing more.

But there might have been something more. Is there not danger that there will be something more one distant day if the rich and idle treat the poor and industrious with such supercilious scorn?

The thread linking these diverse happenings may not be apparent. But the thread is there.

What I see in the incidents is that it behooves the strong to realize the weakness of mankind, that the strong are not so very strong, that there is very little difference between the surge and the urge of life in one class and another, that those who carry too high heads and persist in demonstrations of affected superiority are apt to court their own undoing at the hands of those they despise.

The conception of human beings as frail and needing kindness is one that, if adopted by those who sit in the seats of the mighty and by all who are well equipped for the

battle of life, is not likely to leave a bitter taste in the mouth at the end.

And meanwhile the application of this spirit would tend not only to hasten the ushering in of the brotherhood of man, but would aid in solving most of the pressing economic, social and political problems that today harass the world.—*B. C. Forbes in Chicago American.*

THE POWER OF LAW.

Wise principles of government and good laws can do and have done much for the benefit of humanity, but nothing is more fatal than to overestimate their power. To do so tends to breed in man the most deadly of all diseases which can afflict human society, the loss of self-dependence and the weak impulse to look for help to something or somebody outside one's self at every step upon the road of life. In the past three hundred years there have been enormous advances in political freedom, in the protection of human rights, and in guarding the weak from the oppression of the strong; but those advances, so great when

we look back over the centuries, were slowly and painfully obtained. They did not come in a day or a year, or even in many years; they came little by little, but when they came in that way they were lasting. Mankind accepts all the benefits gained by those who have gone before, thinks exclusively of existing evils, and, as is right, looks forward only to future improvement. But that improvement can be obtained, as the improvements of the past have been obtained, only by slow degrees. American liberty and American institutions have thriven and been examples to the rest of the world because they were the work of a people who had been trained for many generations in civil liberty and intellectual freedom. In the French Revolution men tried to solve all these questions at a blow and one perfect constitution succeeded another, perishing like the lily of a day almost as soon as it was born. The French people had not passed through the long years of training, of slow advance, which had been the inheritance and the fortune of the people of the American Colonies, and

of the United States. We see with deep gratification the success and the permanency of the French Republic of today, but the principal cause of that success, in my opinion, is that the French people, one of the most brilliant and most enlightened people in the world, have now had a hundred years of training in the difficult art of self-government.

I know that men grow restless in the presence of the truth which lies in what I have just said. We all feel the natural human impatience to be rid at once of all the evils of our time, but we should take to heart the lesson that the great and lasting advances are those which have been slowly made, whereas those which were the offspring of a moment, which have tried to accomplish too much and sought a panacea where none was to be found, have not only perished, but have only too often left the cause of sane progress crippled and deformed and the condition of mankind worse even than it was before. We all rebel against the slowness of the movement toward the light and upward to the perfection which we must always seek, even

though it may never be attained. Yet it is the true movement and the best one after all, and it is well perhaps to remember that—

While the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creek and inlet making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main,
And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.

—*Henry Cabot Lodge.*

IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?

"Not to be ministered unto, but to minister."—Matthew xx, 28.

There has never been a time when this question, as to whether life is worth living, has not been asked, and there has never been a time, perhaps, when there did not seem to be good reason for its asking. When we consider the tragic experiences which have to be undergone by the average individual—the diseases which have to be fought, the pains which have to be endured,

the sorrows of accident and death which have to be met, the sordid struggle for the material necessities of existence which constitutes the whole content of life for the majority of men, the blasted hopes and defeated ambitions and ruined faiths which sooner or later cloud even the most fortunate career; and when we add to this catalogue of disaster the fact that there seems to be no relation between the suffering to be borne on the one hand and the moral deserts of the sufferer on the other, we begin to see that the question as to the worth-whileness of life is not perhaps so futile or wicked after all. Certainly there have been men overwhelmed by "a sea of troubles" who would seem to have excuse for asserting that the game is not worth the candle.

As to the actual facts which are involved in this problem I am not at this moment concerned, save to point out that the question in the form in which it is usually presented is incapable of being answered. In any real investigation of the matter each individual life would have to be taken by

itself, and a balance of gains and losses struck in each case. For some persons life would be proved to be on the whole worth living; for others, perhaps not.

What I am concerned with at this time is the attitude toward life which is revealed by the putting of this question. I want to ask what moral right we have to make such an inquiry at all? Every right, no doubt, if we are put into this world merely to be the recipients of certain blessings. Every right, if the one end and aim of existence is to "eat, drink and be merry," to look upon sights of beauty and listen to sweet cadences of song, to recline on cushions of ease and sleep beneath starlit skies. Every right, if life is to be measured by pleasures received and if every pain suffered or misfortune encountered is to be deducted from the amount of credit to which we are entitled. From this point of view it may well be regarded as questionable if life is worth living for most persons.

But what right have we to interpret life from any such point of view as this? Is it not one of the surest of spiritual truths,

attested by all prophets and proved by all valid experience, that we are here in this world not to have, but to do; not to receive, but to give; "not to be ministered unto, but to minister"? Life, properly understood, is an open door to service, sacrifice and love—it is an opportunity to smite evil, foster good, strengthen weakness, heal distress, labor for justice, righteousness and peace. Wherefore are we born, asks the heroic knight in Tennyson's "Idylls," if not to "live pure, speak true, right wrong, follow the King"? And if we have even the smallest chance to do any one of these things shall we not find life worth living, even as the fireman finds the blaze worth fighting and the soldier the shock of battle worth meeting?

Just here, now, in this interpretation of life as a ministry and not as a prize package, do we find the real answer to our question, Is life worth living? Charles W. Eliot sums it all up when he says: "Nobody has the right to find life uninteresting or unrewarding who sees within the sphere of his own activity a wrong he can help to

remedy or within himself an evil he can hope to overcome."—*John Haynes Holmes, Church of the Messiah, New York City.*

THE LABOR QUESTION.

Gentlemen, I feel honored by this welcome of your organization, and especially so when I consider that the marvelously rapid success of the political strength of the Labor movement, especially in New England, is due mainly to this organization. There never has been a party formed that in three years has attracted toward itself such profound attention throughout the United States.

I stand in the presence of a momentous power. I am told that you represent from seventy thousand to one hundred thousand men, here and elsewhere. Think of it! A hundred thousand men. They can dictate the fate of this nation. Give me one hundred thousand men who are in earnest, who get hold of the great question of labor, and having hold of it, grapple with it, and rip it and tear it open, and invest it with light, gathering the facts, piercing the brains

about them and crowding those brains with the facts,—then I know, sure as fate, though I may not live to see it, that *they will certainly conquer this nation in twenty years.* It is impossible that they should not. And that is your power, gentlemen.

Let me tell you why I am interested in the Labor Question. Not simply because of the long hours of labor; not simply because of the specific oppression of a class. I sympathize with the sufferers there; I am ready to fight on their side. But I look out upon Christendom, with its three hundred millions of people, and I see, that, out of this number of people, one hundred millions never had enough to eat. Physiologists tell us that this body of ours, unless it is properly fed, properly developed, fed with rich blood and carefully nourished, does no justice to the brain. You cannot make a bright or a good man in a starved body; and so this one-third of the inhabitants of Christendom, who have never had food enough, can never be what they should be.

Now, I say that the social civilization

which condemns every third man in it to be below the average in the nourishment God prepared for him, did not come from above; it came from below; and the sooner it goes down, the better. Come on this side of the ocean. You will find forty millions of people, and I suppose they are in the highest state of civilization; and yet it is not too much to say, that, out of that forty millions, ten millions, at least, who get up in the morning and go to bed at night, spend all the day in the mere effort to get bread enough to live. They have not elasticity enough, mind or body, left to do anything in the way of intellectual or moral progress.

I believe in the Temperance movement. I am a Temperance man of nearly forty years' standing; and I think it is one of the grandest things in the world, because it holds the basis of self-control. Intemperance is the cause of poverty, I know; there is another side to that,—poverty is the cause of intemperance. Crowd a man with fourteen hours' work a day, and you crowd him down to a mere animal life.

You have eclipsed his aspirations, dulled his tastes, stunted his intellect, and made him a mere tool, to work fourteen hours and catch a thought in the interval; and while one man in a hundred will rise to be a genius, ninety-nine will cower down under the circumstances.

Now, I can tell you a fact. In London, the other day, it was found that one club of gentlemen, a thousand strong, spent for drink twenty thousand dollars at the club-house during the year. Well, I would allow them twenty thousand dollars more at home for liquor, making in all forty thousand dollars a year. These men were all men of education and leisure; they had books and paintings, opera, race-course, and regatta.

A thousand men down in Portsmouth in a ship-yard, working under a boss, spent at the grogshops of the place, in that year, eighty thousand dollars,—double that of their rich brethren. What is the explanation of such a fact as that? Why, the club-man had a circle of pleasures and of company; the operative, after he had

worked fourteen hours, had nothing to look forward to but his grog.

That is why I say, lift a man; give him life, let him work eight hours a day, give him the school, develop his taste for music, give him a garden, give him beautiful things to see, and good books to read, and you will starve out those lower appetites. Give a man a chance to earn a good living, and you may save his life. Give a hundred men in this country good wages and eight hours' work, and ninety-nine will disdain to steal.

You will find in our criminal institutions today a great many men with big brains, who ought to have risen in the world,—perhaps gone to Congress. You may laugh, but I tell you the biggest brains don't go to Congress. Now, take a hundred criminals: ten of them will be smart men; but take the remainder, and eighty of them are below the average, body and mind,—they were, as Charles Lamb said, "never brought up; they were dragged up." They never had any fair chance; they were starved in body and mind. It is

like a chain weak in one link; the moment temptation came, it went over. Now, just so long as you hold two-thirds of this nation on a narrow, superficial line, you feed the criminal classes.

I hail the Labor movement for two reasons; and one is, that it is my only hope for democracy. Take a power like the Pennsylvania Central Railroad and the New York Central Railroad, and there is no legislative independence that can exist in its sight. As well expect a green vine to flourish in a dark cellar as to expect honesty to exist under the shadow of those upas-trees. Unless there is a power in your movement, industrially and politically, the last knell of democratic liberty in this Union is struck; for as I said, there is no power in one State to resist such a giant as the Pennsylvania road. We have thirty-eight one-horse legislatures in this country; and we have got a man like Tom Scott, with three hundred and fifty million dollars in his hands; *and, as he walks through the States, they have no power.*

There is nothing but the rallying of

men against money that can contest with that power. Rally industrially if you will; rally for eight hours, for a little division of profits, for co-operation; rally for such a banking-power in the government as would give us money at three per cent.

Only organize, and stand together. Claim something together, and at once; let the nation hear a united demand from the laboring voice, and then, when you have got that, go on after another; but get something.

From Boston to New Orleans, from Mobile to Rochester, from Baltimore to St. Louis, we have now but one purpose; and that is, having driven all other political questions out of the arena, having abolished slavery, the only question left is labor,—the relations of capital and labor.

If you do your duty,—and by that I mean stand together and being true to each other,—the Presidential election you will decide, every State election you may decide if you please.

If you want power in this country; if you want to make yourselves felt; if you do not

want your children to wait long years before they have the bread on the table they ought to have, the leisure in their lives they ought to have, the opportunities in life they ought to have; if you do not want to wait yourselves,—write on your banner so that every political trimmer can read it, so that every politician, no matter how short sighted he may be, can read it, "We never forget! If you launch the arrow of sarcasm at labor, we never forget; if there is a division in Congress and you cast your vote in the wrong scale, we never forget. You may go down on your knees, and say, 'I am sorry I did the act;' and we will say, 'It will avail you in heaven, but on this side of the grave, never!' "—*Wendell Phillips.*

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THE WORLD'S UNREST.

The first point to be decided is whether the present commotion is a movement of waves or tides. There always have been local disturbances, and life is ever a transition, so that specific changes may be re-

ported at any time concerning every place on earth. Immobile China has undergone countless internal adjustments during the period of her unchanging life. It is important that the particular be not confounded with the general. The movement of socialism and political insurgency in the United States may mean merely readjustments within a limited area, or they may be symptoms of vast forces sweeping around the entire earth.

I have failed to make plain, in this present series of articles, things as they are if I have not shown the world's unrest to be a unified and a universal problem, a spiritual tidal wave encircling the globe. The essential uniformity of the phenomena of unrest has grown upon me with every added mile of my travels. One particular instance will illustrate this, and will show the world currents are economic as well as political, ethical and spiritual. The present decade of life in America has been marked by an extraordinary rise in the cost of the necessities of life. This has been often discussed as if it were an American condi-

tion, to be remedied by legislation of this or that prescribed sort. The truth is that this rise in prices is absolutely a universal phenomenon, affecting the Arab in the desert, the peasant in Europe, the Chinese in the interior provinces, the Indian cooly and the Kurdish farmer. No solution of this practical problem may be reached until its universality is reckoned with.

A DIVINE DISCONTENT AMONG ALL CLASSES.

The outstanding characteristic of the world's unrest is a manifest and general spirit of discontent pervading all classes of population. This is true of Europe, where the popular discontent expresses itself in socialism, laborism, emigration and revolution. It is even more acute in the Orient, where the old order no longer satisfies.

The "good old times" are not the golden age of popular fancy. The mind of mankind generally now looks to the future for the best days. Conditions which the fathers accepted uncomplainingly arouse their sons to acute protest. There is a feeling that the times are out of joint. Men now

rebel against poverty, and no longer accept it as an inscrutable dispensation to be borne with resignation. The famines of India and China, which once were looked upon as visitations from the gods to be endured, now point the pamphlets of the leaders of protest. The peasants themselves revolt against these calamities, declaring that something is wrong somewhere.

To illustrate the resentment against ancient class distinction solely by the present mood of America is entirely inadequate. The Old World masses have entered into the belief that they are not foredoomed to a yoke. Even the outcasts of India, who for millenniums were counted so far beyond the pale that their very shadow was contamination to the higher castes, now clamor for their manhood rights. They seek education and liberty.—*William T. Ellis.*

IMPROVEMENT IN FARM LIFE.

Farm work is by no means the repellent means of living that it once was. Many farmers now live as men should and

can live, and many who do not as yet are beginning to make serious overtures to progress. They are beginning to understand, for example, the hardships of a house which has no bathtub, of a kitchen in which the chief utensil is the frying pan. Young people, boys and girls, upon the farm are beginning to demand those new things which are really essential to right living.

They are substituting for the old-time Winter's hibernation attendance at good institute lectures, the young men are eagerly taking advantage of the short courses at the schools of agriculture, the old, aimless Summer picnics are giving way to country-life conferences and to Grange picnics, with their many bona fide uplift features.

Much of the old-time drudgery of the farm is being eliminated by improved machinery and better methods. Better roads, the R. F. D., and the parcel post are doing much.

All these things mean eventually better country schools and many general im-

provements throughout rural life. Lack of as good sanitation in the country as in the city has done much to draw boys to the city. It has been true that 1,000 people working in a city factory have been far more likely to enjoy good health than 1,000 people in the country spread thinly over forty square miles, because these latter fresh-aired people decried and defied sanitary inspection and improvement.

Education has begun to touch this, with the other old-time imperfections and crudities of rural life. The acute hired help problem will be eased by the advance of co-operative methods, increased country-side prosperity and the agricultural districting of the country, so that each district will have a prevailing type of farming.

The woman's status in the country, too, is changing. The farmer is conservative, and his wife ultra-conservative. But that also will give way with the advance of knowledge, although it must be admitted that country customs are only very slowly bettering in this regard. The impulse for better rural schools, consolidated schools,

will make the country mother catch step as probably nothing else will.

This coming and necessary revolution in the country is to be worked through socializing rural life, and its progress will be marked by the emigration of fewer country boys to cities. But it will be slow business and we must help the country boys who meanwhile bend their steps toward our cities. Socializing must come from within. It cannot be forced down people's throats by legislative fiat. The great agency by which it must be effected is country-side education.

The country school must speedily emerge from its old-time fog of incompetence. In many country sections it is now a disgraced and practically abandoned institution. It must become the social as well as the efficient educational centre of the rural neighborhood. In my judgment, indeed, the country school is in reality the keystone of virile country life, with the country church and Grange, Farmers' Institutes, and farm papers secondary agencies.—*Dr. O. S. Morgan.*

SELF-RELIANCE.

To believe your own thought, to believe that what is true for you in your own private heart is true for all men,—that is genius. Speak your latent conviction and it shall be the universal sense; for the inmost in due time becomes the outmost, and our first thought is rendered back to us by the trumpets of the Last Judgment. Familiar as the voice of the mind is to each, the highest merit we ascribe to Moses, Plato and Milton, is that they set at naught books and tradition, and spoke not what men, but what they, thought.

A man should learn to detect and watch that gleam of light which flashes across his mind from within, more than the lustre of the firmament of bards and sages. Yet he dismisses without notice his thought, because it is his. In every work of genius we recognize our own rejected thoughts; they come back to us with a certain alienated majesty.

Great works of art have no more affecting lesson for us than this: they teach us to abide by our spontaneous expression

with good-humored inflexibility then most when the whole cry of voices is on the other side. Else to-morrow a stranger will say with masterly good sense precisely what we have thought and felt all the time, and we shall be forced to take with shame our own opinion from another.

There is a time in every man's education when he arrives at the conviction that envy is ignorance; that imitation is suicide; that he must take himself for better, for worse, as his portion; that though the wide universe is good, no kernel of nourishing corn can come to him but through his toil bestowed on that plot of ground which is given to him to till. The power which resides in him is new in nature, and none but he knows what that is which he can do: nor does he know until he has tried.

We but half express ourselves, and are ashamed of that divine idea which each of us represents. It may be safely trusted as proportionate and of good issues, so it be faithfully imparted, but God will not have His work made manifest by cowards. A man is relieved and gay when he has put

his heart into his work and done his best; but what he has said and done otherwise shall give him no peace. It is a deliverance which does not deliver. In the attempt his genius deserts him; no muse befriends; no invention, no hope.

Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string. Accept the place the divine providence has found for you, the society of your contemporaries, the connection of events. Great men have always done so, and confided themselves childlike to the genius of their age, betraying the perception that the eternal was stirring at their heart, working through their hands, predominating in all their being.

And we are now men, and must accept in the highest mind the same transcendent destiny; and not minors and invalids pinched in a corner; not cowards fleeing before a revolution; but guides, redeemers and benefactors, pious aspirants to be noble clay under the Almighty effort, let us advance on Chaos and the Dark.—*Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

PATRIOTISM.

Day by day, wherever our homes may be in this great land, we have watched the passing pageant of the year. Day by day, from the first quick flush of April through the deeper green and richer bloom of May and June, we have seen the advancing season develop and increase until, at last, among roses and golden grain, the year stood perfect in mid-summer splendor.

As you have contemplated the brief glory of our summer, where the clover almost blooms out of snow drifts and the red apples drop almost with the white blossoms, you have, perhaps, remembered that the flower upon the tree was only the ornament of a moment, a brilliant part of the process by which the fruit was formed, and that the perfect fruit itself was but the seed vessel by which the race of the tree was continued from year to year.

Then have you followed the exquisite analogy—that youth is the aromatic flower upon the tree; the grave life of maturer years its sober solid fruit; and the principles and character deposited by that life

the seeds by which the glory of this race, also, is perpetuated?

The flower in your hand fades while you look at it; the dream that allures you glimmers and is gone. But both flower and dream, like youth itself, are buds and prophecies. For where, without the perfumed blooming of the spring orchards all over the hills and among the valleys, would the happy harvests be? and where, without the dreams of the young men lighting the future with human possibility, would be the deeds of the old men dignifying the past with human achievement? How deeply does it become us to trust in the promise of youth and to believe in its fulfilment—us, who are living with the youth of the youngest nation in history.

Life is beginning for us; but the life of every nation, as of every individual, is a battle, and the victory is to those who fight with faith and undespairing devotion. Knowing that nothing is worth fighting for at all unless God reigns, let us believe at least as much in the goodness of God, as we do in the dexterity of the Devil. And,

viewing this prodigious spectacle of our country—this hope of humanity—this young America, *our* America, taking the sun full in the front, and making for the future as boldly and blithely as the young David for Goliath—let us believe in our own hopes with all our hearts, and out of that faith shall spring the fact that David, and not Goliath, is to win the day.

In whatever country and whatever case a man may chance to be born, he is born a citizen of the world, and bound by the universal rule of right or law of God. God writes that law upon the man's perceptions, and we call it conscience, or God in him. Proper manhood is the fruit of obedience to that law. Countries and families are but nurseries and influences. A man is a father, a brother, a son, a German, a Roman, an American; but beneath all these relations he is a man. The end of his human destiny is surely not to be the best German or the best Roman or the best father, but the best man he can be.

Right and Wrong, Justice and Crime, exist independently of our country. A pub-

lic wrong is not a private right for any citizen. The citizen is a man bound to know and to do the right, and the nation is but an aggregation of citizens. If a man shout, "My country, by whatever means extended and bounded; my country, right or wrong," he merely utters words such as those might be of the thief who steals in the street, or of the trader who swears falsely at the custom-house, both of them chuckling, "My fortune, however acquired."

If such is Patriotism in general, what is it in particular? How can you, as educated young Americans, best serve the great cause of human development to which all nationalities are subservient?

From the love of liberty, and from what is rarer, the ability of organizing liberty in institutions, sprang the America of which we are so fondly proud. Our popular or democratic idea has this profound difference from the same thought as it appeared in Greece or the republics of the Middle Ages, that it is associated with the religious instinct; so that our political has always rested upon our religious liberty.

Now, as I conceive it, patriotism in an American, is simply fidelity to the American idea. Our government was established confessedly in obedience to this sentiment of human liberty. And your duty as patriots is to understand clearly that by all its antecedents your country is consecrated to the cause of freedom; that it was discovered when the great principle of human liberty was about to be organized in institutions; that it was settled by men who were exiled by reason of their loyalty to that principle; that it separated politically from its mother country because that principle had been assailed; that it began its peculiar existence by formally declaring its faith in human freedom and equality; and therefore, that whatever in its government or policy tends to limit or destroy that freedom and equality is anti-American and unpatriotic, because America and liberty are inseparable ideas.

Doubtless in every civilized and intelligent society there is no need of saying that the public laws must be obeyed. But the rule is subject to a very grave excep-

tion. Amid the jargon of corrupt politics, and the shivering sophistries of timidity and indifference and ease whch blow upon every generation of young hearts, as the suffocating sirocco blows over springing grain, remember steadily that laws are of two kinds—those which concern us as citizens, and those which affect us as men. We are born men, with certain indefeasible moral duties—whether our birth chance in China or New England—and we are born citizens, with certain obligations to the law.

If, therefore, the law of the land, enacted by a majority of the people, declare that you must pay a heavy tax, that a railroad may pierce your garden, that a duty may be levied upon the goods you import, however injurious to you the effect may be you can have no right to resist forcibly, because the consequences of forcible resistance would be universal confusion and injury. These are laws that govern us only as citizens in our relation to the State.

But if the law of the land declares that you must murder your child under two

years of age, or prostitute your daughter, or deny a cup of water to the thirsty, or return to savage Indians an innocent captive flying for his life, you have no right to obey, because such laws nullify themselves, being repulsive to the holiest human instincts. Such laws God and man require of you to disobey, for upon a people who, under any pretence, could yield to them there is no tyranny so terrible that it might not be imposed.

Will you obey, under the plea that it is law, and that you have no right to judge the law, but must try to alter it by and by? By and by! But God is God to-day! and to-day a child is born to you—he is under two years old; to-day the thirsty wretch falls parched and panting at your feet; to-day the captive from those Indians red as murder crouches on your hearth-stone; and the law is knocking at your door—"Give me that child, give me that thirsty wretch, give me that frightened fugitive; I am the law!" Yes and God is knocking at your heart, "Whosoever doeth it unto the least of these my brethren, doeth it unto me!"

If we believe that our country embodies any principle, that as moral agents and self-respecting men we have something to do in America besides turning the air and water and earth into wealth, we shall need to cling to no principle so strongly as this, that no possible law can bind us to do a moral wrong. All other inconveniences and disadvantages we may suffer for the sake of law, seeing how soon the injury may be repaired, but there is no reparation of moral injury. What excuse is it for my lying and thieving and murdering, for my trampling upon conscience, which is God in me, that the law ordered it?

Remember that the greatness of our country is not in the greatness of its achievement, but in its promise—a promise that cannot be fulfilled without that sovereign moral sense, without a sensitive national conscience. Commercial prosperity is only a curse if it be not subservient to moral and intellectual progress, and our prosperity will conquer us if we do not conquer our prosperity. Our commercial success tends to make us all cowards; but we

have got to make up our minds in this country whether we believe in the goodness and power of God as sincerely as we undoubtedly do in the dexterity of the Devil, that we may shape our national life accordingly and not be praying now to good God, now to good Devil, and wondering which is going to carry us off after all.

The whole of Patriotism for us seems to consist at the present moment in the maintenance of this public moral tone. No voice of self-glorification, no complacent congratulation that we are the greatest, wisest and best of nations, will help our greatness or our goodness in the smallest degree. History and mankind do not take men or nations at their own valuation, and a man no longer secures instant respect and sympathy by announcing himself an American. Are we satisfied that America should have no other excuse for independent national existence than a superior facility of money-making?

Why, if we are unfaithful as a nation, though our population were to double in a year, and the roar and rush of our vast

machinery were to silence the music of the spheres, and our wealth were enough to buy all the world, our population could not bully history, nor all our riches bribe the eternal Justice not to write upon us "Ichabod! Ichabod! the glory is departed!"

But I am not here to counsel you to despair and headshakings. I am here to say that this country which you are to inherit, and for which you are to be responsible, needs only an enlightened patriotism to fulfill all its mission and justify the dreams of its youth. I do not believe that our young energy is capable of nothing more than money-making at any cost, at any wear and tear of the moral sense. I do not believe that the purpose of God in the progress of the race to self-respecting and consistent liberty and law is to be thwarted by moral cowardice.

But I believe, rather, that there is a moral sentiment in the country which will make the glooms of its morning the glory of its prime, and which honors the name American so much that it would willingly die rather than see it desecrated. Sur-

rounded by unequalled opportunities, let us use them as God inspires. Be faithful, be brave, be bold; neither deluded by the hope of easy success, nor disheartened by the long delay. But be cheered by the great aim and by the great spirit in which you serve it. Live to justify your own hope and the vision of all noble minds.—*George William Curtis.*

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SPEECH AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NATIONAL CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG.

November 15, 1863.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to

dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

DEFEAT AND TRIUMPH.

All greatness of soul counts on the infinite time. Greatness does not live by happy accident. For example, in the long story of man, there must have been many men, like Guido Reni, who fled the jealousy of the artists of Naples, while he carried his half finished picture of the Nativity under his arm until he could get opportunity to finish it. They met with the loss of the half-touched canvas, or saw it ruined by enemies, or found no place to paint it, or died in the flight. And was it failure on their part? Was Guido's a success above theirs? Shall not the race hear some day the roll-call of the nameless artists who died defeated with honor and above whose defeat rises forever the incense of victory? It is a wretched philosophy of life that would believe that the line which divides victory from defeat is that wavering line on the one side of which men have lived in oblivion, on the other side of which men march as heroes. Much has recently been written concerning the battle of Waterloo. Agreeing that Blücher arrived at the op-

portune moment to save the day for Wellington and the British hosts, we must ask what would have been the true place of Wellington as a general had he *not* come through the woods of *Frichemont* on the French right until Napoleon again had attacked the British position?

It is impossible that victory, as the ages shall pronounce that word, that heroism as eternity knows it, that success as the great universe bears upon that word—it is impossible that they should follow like slaves or *sutlers* the greatest battalions, that they should depend for their honors on the coming of Blücher, or consist in some joyous meeting of an unexpected ally on some *Genappas* road. Nay, the idea that success belongs to the side that wins the day is born of the same spirit that made Frederick the Great say, "God is on the side of the heaviest battalion." It is the glory of true success that it has often been picked up for dead on the field; and it is often that the history of heroism is that its bosom has been riddled with bullets and torn with shell, and until the smoke

of the battle lifted away, none knew its name.

Was not Blücher's masterly retreat from the disastrous field of Jena, in which he withdrew his column to Lubeck, more grand than the questionable victory of the other side? He was compelled to retreat for want of provisions and ammunition. Suppose the other side had failed likewise? Life is full of such questions. Some of the bravest men had victory in their hands, but an Arctic blast so chilled them that they lost their grip. Were they any the less victors? Some of the most valorous women I have ever seen had won the day, but the intervening darkness came and the rain poured upon them until they must retreat. Are they not victorious nevertheless?

O, there be victories which no rain can wash away though it flood the cannon and wet the powder of life; there be conquests which depend not for issue upon Blücher or provision; and, though over the heights once won, enemies come, the failure that

looks up from the valley holds in the tear-drenched eyes the victory.

"The honor lies
In the struggle not the prize."

The fact of struggle involves sincerity. He who struggles must be honest. And the differences between the struggling and those who do not struggle means more than the difference between the prize-getters and those who leave the race of life uncrowned.

It means more of victory that some men are good citizens than that many of you are saints. He is the best saint or hero that has struggled the most and I would rather fall out of breath, tired, broken-hearted, my face wounded and bleeding, my clothes torn into shreds in the fight with some sin, a good way this side of the gates of heaven, than to go in dignifiedly with an elegant suit on and fair white hands that had never known what it was to grasp in deadly fight some wretched enemy of my soul.

The people that wear the white robes are

they that have come up through great tribulation. How trifling will some of our successes appear in their society; how petty will some of our victories seem; how the white plumes that we wore in the hours of earth when we were on that sort of spiritual dress parade which we often perform—how they will look like foolish feathers when the incense of glory rises from the failure of some saint or the defeat of some hero.

It is a part of the philosophy of success to say that no honest struggle can issue in defeat or result in failure. But the making stronger of him who struggles, something precious always comes to man from the struggle that seems all for nothing.

In an age when it was said by a great writer, our disease is to think "that nothing succeeds like success," it is a high privilege to discover men who could have had cheap victories had they been in love with cheapness; to find women who would rather have hovering about a hut the glory of an ideal too high for them or their neighbors, than to live in mansions with ideals

that rose not above the cellar beneath them, and then only as a miasma. It is more wise to stop and inquire if honorable defeat under a banner that shall wave over the blood-washed in heaven is not a richer and a nobler possession than a dishonorable success won under a banner that waves over the smoking ruins of manhood here and shall mark the confines of death hereafter.

God bless the men who cannot succeed with a dead past, who disdain to succeed by selling out the future, who would rather fail as men than to wear the cheap diadems and hear the shabby eloquence that come to cowards. Every true man comes upon this question, in some line of life, and he asks in some sublime moment of money-making, applause, success, Can I afford to succeed this way? When he feels the drain that it has made upon his moral nature, the tax that his honesty has to pay, the heavy toll exacted from his conscience, the native man arises and announces that he would rather fail in honor than succeed in dishonor. It is the era-making moment when a painter

says: "These pictures of mine are selling rapidly and as long as I paint in this way I can sell them. But may I not do better?" He sets himself about it and he does so well that no one wants to buy. What must he do? Shall he succeed on a daub or fail with a piece of art?

It is only the tax which one has to pay on a high ideal, that partial failure is his. If one succeeds in eternity, he cannot satisfy all the demands of *puny* age; but he may know that he serves his *time* best who serves eternity best.

It is a man's sublimest moment when he finds how he can afford to fail, but he cannot afford to reserve a drop of blood. He can like Moses die this side some Canaan and in sight of his goal; and he can find deeper joy in the being worthy of victory than in the victory itself.

The only failure consists in declining the struggle, not in missing the prize. The fair souls have caught the gleam of God, and unconsciously, it has drifted its snowy light into their faces, who, looking for the flitting angels of duty, and following them,

have developed such an eloquent anticipation in their eyes that when they fail of the prize and stand defeated, they rise into a realm all their own, conscious that they have reached a personal power which can do without it and be content.

"To seek is better than to gain,
The fond hope dies as we attain.
Life's fairest things are those which seem;
The best is that of which we dream."

"So failure wins; the consequence
Of loss becomes its recompense,
And ever more the end shall tell
The unreached ideal guided well."

—*Frank W. Gunsaulus.*

THE CRUCIBLE OF DEMOCRACY.

In modern times the age-old struggle between the priest and the prophet, between the churches on the one hand and the scientists and naturalistic philosophers on the other, which is still going on, has seemed to many to herald the death of all religion. The churches did not realize that the sci-

entist was revealing God, and the scientist did not realize that the churches were clinging desperately to the truth of the religious experience which they thought was threatened. The religious experience, we are beginning to see, is fundamental in democracy. And it is the experience of all the prophets and of all the saints. Communion with the spiritual current of the universe cannot be expressed scientifically; nor can that current be measured in amperes. But the old conceptions of Adam, of the Creation, of the flood, were swept away. The cosmology of the Bible was shattered. And if you deprive a man of the vessel which has held his faith, and do not give him another vessel in which to hold it, it is more than likely that he will lose that faith. He mistakes the vessel for the faith.

The second cause of the waning of religion is the struggle between the materialist and the prophet.

England was great, commercially, but in America the glory of the new prosperity dazzled the world. The news of it penetrated into the remotest country districts on the Continent of Europe. Its angels began to appear—heralds who told of a land of milk and honey, where everyone was happy and contented, where the good things of this world were so plentiful that if the whole of Europe emigrated there would still be enough to go around. Well-dressed angels, these were—philanthropists with diamonds. And there were few cynics in those parts to suggest the fable of the spider and the fly. The steamship companies—actuated, of course, by the most altruistic of motives—were ready to carry the emigrant to America for next to nothing, and deposit him in the welcoming arms of the charitable American manufacturer.

Homes were sold at a sacrifice, money was borrowed. What an awakening the arrival in the land of promise must have been —must still be for thousands and thousands!

A change takes place in the emigrant who lands on these shores. Not in all, of course, but in great numbers of them. I do not pretend to say how sudden it is. In the old country he has been a more or less faithful adherent of the synagogue or of the church. As an inhabitant of this strenuous land he loses his beliefs; or, if he does not lose them, his children are apt to break away from religious ties. And in this they are merely following the example of the children of the native born. The commercial atmosphere which they breathe, the atmosphere of that unsuspected philosophy of natural rights, is an irreligious one. It sets the hand of every man against his neighbor. And just as democracy cannot exist, save in form, when the economic philosophy of a nation is individualistic, religion is also stifled.

There is a grim yet pathetic humor in the situation of a country whose churches proclaim their members to be their brother's keepers, when in reality they are often their brother's oppressors. And if it becomes a question of abandoning busi-

ness or the church, there can be little doubt where the choice will lie. The churches are complaining of empty pews; and there are many good parsons left in the land who are still bewildered, who are still wondering why. Increasing numbers of them, however, are beginning to see the light and are setting themselves manfully to solve the problem.

This spectacle of empty churches has now been of sufficient duration to reveal a very significant fact—one which for some time seems to have been lost sight of. And that fact is this: that no man, and no society, and no nation can do without religion. We cannot live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. And it is because we are realizing this fact that we are at the dawn of a new spiritual age.

Abolish religion and we go back to the stone age. Do away completely with the sustaining and restraining sense of a higher power, and the logical result is the gunman and the white slaver and the ruth-

less capitalist. They differ only in degree.

It may be answered that many of the exploiters of human souls and bodies have religion. It is certainly poor psychology to call them conscious hypocrites. This, I believe, is true, that so much real religion as these had was the only mitigating influence which saved them from sheer savagery of heart.

But a true religion demands unity of the soul. We can't have our religion one thing and our business another and our scientific beliefs another. Religion, if it be true religion, must permeate and energize every department of life, the home, the office, the factory, the laboratory of the scientist, and the workshop of the literary man, as well as the synagogue and the church. And it must be a religion, today, which harmonizes with our ideal of government, democracy.

A remarkable thing is taking place before our eyes—nay, it is going on within us. Democracy is transforming our religions, purifying them. We are gradually

growing conscious that in working for democracy we are working for God. Men and women of all creeds are arising around us and flinging themselves into service, each according to his gift. He who gives himself today to medicine, to art, to literature, to sociology, to physical science, gives himself to the State, gives himself to democracy, gives himself to the Church Universal. Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jew are acknowledging that such a government is divine.

The "rights of man" is now being supplemented by another philosophy, which proclaims the duties of man. The one laid a needed emphasis on individual autonomy, which is, indeed, religion; on individual initiative, and on individual responsibility. The other philosophy supplies the element of collective initiative, of collective responsibility. Society and government are also responsible for the individual. The motive is religious, the end is practical. Thus society protects itself from the ravages of waste through useless, feeble-minded, criminal—yes, and irreligious citizens.

Thus, as the religious idea develops, government develops with it. They go hand in hand.

Democracy is not itself religion. It is the expression of religion. And the creed of the true religion must be translated into terms of democracy. The true citizen of a democracy must be a man of transformed will, just as the true citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven. We might properly say, indeed, the Democracy of Heaven. Such is the modern belief. In both the will of man is turned from individual salvation to social salvation. In democracy we fling away "enlightened self-interest" for enlightened social interest. And does not this reflection go far to justify the hope that a time is coming when the nation—yes, and the world, will be united in a common belief? Despots have all but disappeared, governmental tyranny is becoming a thing of the past, and industrial tyranny is beginning to totter. Democracy is spreading in distant lands.

When a premium is put on the pursuit and acquisition of wealth, rather than on

service, that the coffers of the few are swelled at the expense of the many; and when, with the swelling coffers comes the lust for power which warps and degrades our politics; commercializes the virtue of our women; sets up false social standards; parts husbands and wives; creates wicked extravagance and wilful waste which excuses itself on the plea of "putting money into circulation," we begin to ask ourselves whether we are not dealing with a social disease which has affected the individual cells, and made them predatory; and whether we should not blame the *disease* for our troubles, rather than denounce the *cells* which have run riot. And above all, try to cure the disease.

This belief in social regeneration demands faith, and in return it is faith which saves us. There are some who seem to be so hardened, so crystallized, that if one returned from the dead they would not believe. They are those who, in past centuries, resisted every step in the progress of medicine; persecuted those physicians

who first used vaccination for smallpox. Well, that fight has been won. Won, I mean, in the sense that opposition has ceased. There are few, in our time, who dare to put a limit on the possibilities of medical science, to say what physical evils of the human body it may not cure.

These are the same who, today, refuse to believe that the moral evils of humanity may be ameliorated. If they are members of churches, they look upon faith as the acceptance of a creed, and as personal salvation to be gained by adherence to a list of "thou-shalt-nots." They fail to see that it is their attitude which counts with God. Their attitude, not toward themselves, but toward humanity. For faith alone develops personality—which is the God-like in man. Without true faith, we shrivel, we die.

In order to have faith in medical science we must know, in a general way, what medical science is, how it proceeds, what are its methods and principles. And in order to have faith in social science, which is applied to the ills of government, we

must have a similar knowledge of it. In order to have faith in democracy we must know what democracy is. Unfaith is ignorance. When that ignorance arises from closed-mindedness, it is hopeless. Closed-mindedness is petrification. We do not find it in the young.

The solution of democracy is education in democracy.

Thus we are coming to understand in the days now upon us, that if traditional and orthodox interpretations are doomed, it does not mean that religion is doomed also. Out of the darkness, light. This country of ours has been called the melting pot of the nations. But the process going on is more than that which this implies—more than the mixture of bloods. May we not think of America as the Crucible, the Crucible of Democracy, the Crucible on which the scattered light of the ages is focusing as through a mighty lens? Fusing us together, whether we will or not, into one Nation, one Purpose and one Church.—*Winston Churchill.*

AMERICAN LIBERTY.

The struggles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both in peace and in war were devoted largely to overcoming the aristocratic position as applied to individuals. In establishing the equal right of every person to development, it became clear that equal opportunity for all involves this necessary limitation: Each man may develop himself so far, but only so far, as his doing so will not interfere with the exercise of a like right by all others. Thus liberty came to mean the right to enjoy life, to acquire property, to pursue happiness in such manner and to such extent only as the exercise of the right in each is consistent with the exercise of a like right by every other of our fellow citizens. Liberty thus defined underlies twentieth century democracy. Liberty thus defined exists in a large part of the western world. And even where this equal right of each individual has not yet been accepted as a political right, its ethical claim is gaining recognition.

America, dedicated to liberty and the brotherhood of man rejected the aristocratic principle of the superman as applied to peoples as she rejected it as applied to individuals. America has believed that each race has something of peculiar value which it can contribute to the attainment of those high ideals for which it is striving. America has believed that we must not only give to the immigrant the best that we have, but must preserve for America the good that is in the immigrant and develop in him the best of which he is capable. America has believed that in differentiation, not in uniformity, lies the path of progress. It acted on this belief; it has advanced human happiness, and it has prospered.—*Louis D. Brandeis.*

CITY GOVERNMENT.

The notorious misgovernment of American cities is brought about, in large measure, by the politicians. But there is no use in blaming the political boss. We made him. He is a product of yours and mine. If we are to eliminate him we must separate

along local lines and not along the imaginary national lines which now separate the parties. The parties are supposed to represent principles. I am not certain just what these principles are, and I don't think anyone else is. We vote for them because our grandfather voted for them. Grandfather is the most influential man dead, and he is a great deal more influential dead than he was alive. It is this automatic partisan, on whom the boss can count to appear on election day and vote straight, that makes the lot of the boss so easy.

Every trail of graft in our cities leads straight to the door of some public-utility corporation. For all the graft, corruption, and shame in our American cities the money has come from their coffers. Some men are awfully cheap and will sell themselves for an invitation to dinner, or some social distinction. As to the other forms of graft that now exist in the cities, it is from the public utilities that they learn it. When the councilmen have sold out the city's rights to the public-service corporations, then it is easy for them to sell other

things. The public-utility interests, the street-car companies, the gas companies, and the rest have left a long trail of money-bribed councilmen, of blasted lives of shame and ruin in their wake in every city of our land. The city must have power to deal adequately with the public-utility corporations. It should be allowed to pass on the laws which affect it by means of the referendum. It should be permitted to frame its own charter.

What the American City must develop before it really becomes a city is a city sense, a sense of common responsibility, and a method by which the common will may express itself.—*Brand Whitlock.*

AMERICANISM.

The plain meaning of *American* needs to be taught to many of us. *American* stands for something more than territory, descent, society, wealth, and accomplishments. It represents a spirit; to the old world it means the new, and as their remarks upon our institutions and their readings in our literature show, it is too often merely the

novel. *American* signifies the fresh, but not necessarily the freaky. Let us try to define. *American* means the best for all and all for the best. That is, equal opportunity for all and all inspired with ideals for the best. The birthright of humanity is opportunity and the possible attainment of the best. In the breadth of our common democracy, with full recognition of the varying powers of persons, there will be an elevating aristocracy, the aristocracy of service, and where touched by Christianity, of sacrifice. Rising from the cross, the American eagle may have healing in his wings for the nations. For real expansion means to open out, to unfold. It is a growth from within, and while it may appropriate what is beyond, it is only to assimilate and elevate. Like all movements of note, it is mighty and beyond man.—*George Edwin MacLean.*

EDUCATION AND RESPONSIBILITY.

Poorly have the educated caught the meaning of their years of special training,

if they cannot fully agree with Hurlburt that the distinctive idea of education is, not to increase what one knows, but to augment what one is. It is the true glory of living to realize that we are not merely cogs in a great machine, drops in an infinite ocean, but that each one of us is a living, sentient, thinking, loving human being. For right equipment for highest service, the need is to realize just that: to gain a clear, plain, and definite conviction of one's personality, of one's own selfhood; to be able to say, "Here I am, created by God for a definite purpose; set down amid a billion and a half of other men and women, exactly like none other of all the fifteen hundred millions swarming upon the globe today, therefore will I have the self-respect that is the corner-stone of all virtues, therefore will I make the best possible use of the peculiar faculties which are mine, therefore will I develop my capabilities and all the faculties of mind and body to the utmost, therefore will I consecrate them all to the service of humanity."—*Henry N. Wilson.*

THE BATTLE FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

We live in a wonderful age. Great issues are before us. There lie slumbering today in secret places the twentieth-century issues, the outcome of which you and I do not dream, and the question for everyone of us is, what part shall we play in it, when there comes a time to decide for the side of truth or falsehood, some great cause, in this great battle for righteousness within, righteousness in society, righteousness everywhere.—*Edgar Y. Mullins.*

THE FUTURE OF AMERICA.

If we may judge the future progress of this land by its progress in the past, it does not require that one should be endowed with prophetic vision to predict that in the near future this young but giant republic will dominate the policy of the world. America was not born amidst the mysteries of barbaric ages; and it is about the only nation which knows its own birthday. Woven of the stoutest fibers of other lands, nurtured by the commingling of the best

blood of other races, America has now cast off the swaddling clothes of infancy, and stands forth erect, clothed in robes of majesty and power, in which the God who made her intends that she shall henceforth tread the earth; and today she may be seen moving down the great highways of history, teaching by example; moving at the head of the procession of the world's events; marching in the van of civilized and Christianized liberty, her manifest destiny to light the torch of liberty till it illumines the entire pathway of the world, and till human freedom and human rights become the common heritage of mankind.—*Horace Porter.*

EARNESTNESS AND THOROUGHNESS.

How it helps us in the first place, to solve the problem of the method and the chief end of education. What is that method and chief end? Is it not that men may learn to think in earnest, and to study in earnest? And what that implies is very ob-

vious. It implies an intellectual conscience, as it were; a seriousness of purpose and of method. It demands above all a quality that is far from being cultivated in America, at our institutions of learning, as it should be; it demands thoroughness.

There are many young men, aye and older men too, who do not know what working in dead earnest means. They complain of being under a cloud; but they are darkened by their own shadow. They work with their eyes on the clock. They are afraid to work too long, or too much, or too well. They are afraid that they will earn more than their salaries. But the ten-dollar-a-week clerk who is afraid of earning more than that sum will always be a ten-dollar-a-week clerk. For your work can mark your growth and make your growth; it can become a strength-giving and a pride. Nay, it may become your game and sport in its increasing excellence. For in a fine and worthy sense, the greatest game of all is this tense struggle with self and with rivals for superiority, for supremacy. Were this not graciously true, we would all be slaves

in a bondage cruelly perennial and ubiquitous.—*Leon Harrison.*

THE NEW POLITICS.

This fundamental political awakening which I have described has for its platform the new or world-old principle of justice and the "square deal." It insists that all men shall be equal before the law. It claims equality of opportunity. It is at war with vested rights and favored classes. It protests against government as a partnership of the strong for the exploitation of the weak. It recognizes that evils, political as well as individual, have their root and abiding source in human nature. But it holds that the political ills from which we suffer may be remedied by laws impartially just and administration absolutely honest. It reveres the majesty of the law and pays homage to our courts of justice and the incorruptibility of their judges. But it is deeply persuaded that in the executive and legislative branches of our government power and wealth have had undue influence, often unconscious and unintentional

rather than deliberate, but an influence nevertheless which works substantial hardship to large classes of our people. And it welcomes every measure of redress which, like recent federal legislation, tends to protect the people against monopolistic corporations which have it in their power to practice oppression.—*Jacob Gould Schurman.*

CITIZENSHIP IN AMERICA.

My urgent advice to you would be not only always to think first of America, but always also to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice; not by jealousy and hatred.

I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellowmen. He has lost the touch and ideal of America; for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase. We came to America

either ourselves or in persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, to make them seek finer things than they had seen before, to get rid of things that divide, and to make sure of the things that unite. It was but an historical accident no doubt that this great country was called the "United States," and yet I am very thankful that it has the word "United" in its title, and the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest, in the United States is striking at its very heart.—*Woodrow Wilson.*

NATION FACES A MIGHTY TASK.

No loyal American is free from a just pride in the freedoms, the equalities, the fraternities that are the basic, dominant forces on which this greatest republic of all times has been builded. Religious freedom stood in the forefront, if it was not the most compelling, of the forces that gave birth to the democratic ideal on which the fabric of a continent-wide republic was erected. The tyrannies of State religions had become intolerable, and our forebears

fled from those tyrannies in France, or Spain, or England to the shores of a continent which held out to them the priceless privilege of worshipping their God according to the dictates of their own consciences. They were a worshipping folk largely that sought this land of freedom, and they brought as their most valued contribution toward the building of a new nation their simple, almost childlike and yet all absorbing devotion to their religion.

Much was to be expected from this virile, wholesome type of devotion, and in the early years of the republic's life the results were seen in the raising up of a sturdy, God-fearing citizenship.

Today, after more than three centuries of American Christianity, will even the most optimistic claim that we as a people have really found ourselves, religiously speaking? The nation grew prodigiously in wealth and population and power. Lovers of freedom from every corner of the earth sought our shores, bringing their strange religions or their negations of all religions.

In the place of a State controlled religion today we find ourselves a nation of separatists and dissenters, each from our neighbor's religion, with uncounted, nameless, unclassifiable sects to be superadded to those religious bodies that can be named or grouped. The "unhappy divisions" of Christianity is no meaningless euphemism, but a reality, a menace to the cause of true religion, a bar to effectiveness and a spur to further disunion.

This nation, to which we owe our fullest allegiance; this nation, which today, in a larger sense than ever before, stands forth as the hope of a free humanity and Christian civilization, faces a mighty task in the amalgamation into one homogeneous whole of the hordes of alien speaking, alien thinking peoples that have flocked to our shores. But a mightier task, and one the successful accomplishment of which will assist wonderfully in solving the first task, is the drawing together and compacting of our religious forces into an all-conquering unity.

America for political and religious free-

dom! Yes, but a freedom which is saved from degenerating into license that makes for hatred and prejudice and discord rather than for "Godly union and concord."—*Rev. Charles S. Burch.*

WHAT AMERICA MEANS.

We heard the other day of a German woman in Milwaukee, the mother of six sons, all grown men, all born either in Germany or Austria, all now living in this country. Every night this mother gets down on her knees and thanks God that her boys are safe in America. This is a very touching story, but as natural as it is touching. We doubt not that hundreds of mothers, German and French and English and Russian, are daily thanking God for America. Could anything remind us so strongly of what America means to all of us—to the men and children and mothers?

Mothers are mothers the world over, and very much alike. In war no one makes a greater sacrifice. No patriots in history have made this sacrifice more cheerfully and willingly, yes, even eagerly, than

mothers. But no mother ever saw her son depart for war without a fervent wish that it might be otherwise, without praying God that her boy should not pay the full cost. And no mother, in such a time as this, can realize that her boy is safe, without thanking God for America.

What America means to this mother it means to all our adopted children—a country that has no quarrel with any nation, that will do all in its power to avoid going to war. Is not the peace of such a country worth the best that is in us? Must not every American citizen hold as his dearest possession the peace and safety of America? If we are going to do this, we shall refrain from any act that might prejudice our country's good, from any thought that any other cause or any other nation can be served by anything that does not first serve America.—*Milwaukee Journal.*

SCIENTIFIC FARMING.

There are some who say that the "higher education" has gone too far, but I want to tell you that the Yankee is a far-seeing

man. He has observed the hordes of human oxen pouring in from Europe, men who can sleep in a pig sty and dine on an onion and a chunk of bread, and he has been unwilling to enter his sons in that sort of competition; and so he has sent them to college. Scientific farming has begun to pay. I know a farmer whose income would excite the envy of high finance. He said to me: "Don't be afraid of education; the land will soak up all we can get and yell for more." My friends, if I knew half the secrets in ten acres of land I believe I could make my fortune off them in five years. We have sent the smart boys to the city, and we have kept the fools on the farm. We have put everything on the farm but brains. Anybody can learn Blackstone and Greenleaf, but the book of law that is writ in the soil is only for keen eyes. We want our young men to know that it is more dignified to search for the secrets of God in the land than to grope for the secrets of Satan in a lawsuit. One hundred thousand young men will be leaving college within a year from now. If the smartest of them would go to work on the

land with gangs of these human oxen we could make the old earth lopsided with the fruitfulness of America.—*Irving Bacheller.*

CITIZENSHIP.

Roman citizenship was a privilege, conferred upon non-Romans as a distinction and reward, carrying with it rights, such as that of appeal to Caesar, which Paul of Tarsus invoked. And as the world became Romanized citizenship spread. It was conferred first on the Latins outside the city, when they had become loyal to the city; then upon cities in Italy and later outside Italy, which were allies and true friends of Rome; afterward upon all Italians, when all Italy was grown thoroughly Roman; and finally upon the whole world within the empire, when that world had been entirely Romanized.

American citizenship is the modern privilege. It admits a man into a vast brotherhood of equals, endows him with civil and political rights that make him a factor in a great self-governing state whose ideal is human betterment and individual

welfare. As a citizen of Rome was a peculiar person, possessed of what no alien noble could equal, so is a citizen of the United States peculiar in a spiritual sense, inasmuch as his citizenship dedicates him to serve in a higher scheme, to join in a better project than is to be seen anywhere else upon earth.

There are rights and privileges which are attributes of American citizenship; but there are also duties and obligations of an exalted character. The former are obvious, but the latter should be seriously realized by us all. And those who are born here, quite as much as those who have voyaged hither, need new instruction in the significance of American citizenship and a reconsecration to its service.

For, as we construe it, American citizenship vows the citizen to patriotism, but to patriotism that is more catholic, more generous, more noble and fine than is patriotism as otherwhere conceived. American patriotism has a richer and higher content than have the patriotisms of Europe. And this truth should be realized.

The American citizen is a soldier not

merely of the United States, glorious as is the function of that; he is also a soldier for humanity, enlisted for life in "the war of liberation for mankind." He is a knight of freedom, a crusader for equality, a paladin of justice. He has a social mission, as well as a defensive duty.

"That government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth," said Abraham Lincoln. That it shall not is our principle, our cause, our obligation, our enthusiasm, for which we live and all are ready to die.

The appeal of that proposition is to all of us equally, to him who is born here, to him who comes here. It is the unifying cause; it exceeds any European patriotism, any call of blood, any sympathy of creed. Or if it does not, then Americanism is a failure and our citizenship is a convenience, a mere economic opportunity.

But Americanism is not a failure. It triumphs, it waxes from generation to generation. It excites a passionate devotion, an enduring, widening, wonderful loyalty. —*Minneapolis Journal.*

INDEX TO SELECTIONS

A Clear-Headed Man Hard-Hearted.....Hadley 11
Aim of Deliberative Eloquence.....Choate 13
American Liberty .....Brandies 107
Americanism .....MacLean 110
America, The Future of.....Porter 113

Battles of the People, The.....Beveridge 14
Beginning of Goodness, The.....Ross 15

Citizenship ..... Minneapolis Journal 124
Citizenship in America .....Wilson 117
City Government .....Whitlock 108
Common Struggle for the Common Man, A.....
.....McDonald 31
Crucible of Democracy, The.....Churchill 96

Dawn of World Peace, The.....Taft 47
Defeat and Triumph.....Gunsaulus 89
Developing Men.....Iron City Trades Journal 25
Duty .....McKinley 12

Earnestness and Thoroughness.....Harrison 114
Education and Responsibility.....Wilson 111
Effect of Paternalism.....The Indianapolis Star 37

Fertilizing Function of Art, The.....Yeoman 27

How to Succeed.....Haldane 40
Human Knowledge .....Everett 18
Human Progress .....Tucker 13

Ideal Civilization No Impossible Dream...Roosevelt 23
Improvement in Farm Life.....Morgan 70
Is Life Worth Living.....Holmes 56

Judging a Nation.....Anon 18
Judgment .....Thwing 13

Labor Question, The.....Phillips 60
Laugh Away the Clouds.....Milwaukee Journal 21
Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.....Lincoln 87

Mark of a Real Man, The.....Butler 44

Nation Faces a Mighty Task..... .....Burch 118

Our Government the Model.....Anon 33

Patriotism .....Curtis 77
Patriotism, The New.....Gilder 16
Peace of Mind and Happiness.....Sand 18
Politics, The New.....Schurman 116
Power of Law, The .....Lodge 53

Qualifications for the Successful Young Man.....
..... Carnegie 11

Reason and Force.....Giddings 44
Righteousness, The Battle for.....Mullins 113

Scientific Farming .....Bacheller 122
Self-Government .....Wilson 17
Self-Reliance .....Emerson 74
Sentences, Paragraphs, etc.—
The Commanding Words "I Will"....Thompson 9
Courage Keen and Polished.....Sheridan 9
Courage, The Armed Sentinel.....Anon 9

He Only Is Advancing in Life * * * ...Huxley 9
Greatness of Soul.....Gunsaulus 9
Victory—Success—Man's Sublimest Moment... ..... Gunsaulus 9
Lift a Man.....Phillips 10
Actions .....Choate 10
The National Character.....Everett 10
Victory .....Curtis 11
The Best Man.....Curtis 11
The Man Who Lives Forever.....Reed 11
Spirit of Self-Government, The.....Root 46
Strength Realizing Weakness.....Forbes 49
Struggles of Man.....Kearns 38
Successful Democratic Institutions.....Angell 17

Temptation Shows Worth of Person.....Bradley 35
Test of a Country, The True.....Ferris 22
Today Is Yours.....Bradley 19

What Is Education.....Savage 16
What America Means.....Milwaukee Journal 121
Why Americans Succeed....Saturday Evening Post 28
Work of the Minority, The.....Everett 12
World's Unrest, The.....Ellis 67

INDEX TO NAMES OF AUTHORS, ETC.

Angell, James R., Successful Democratic Institutions 17
Anonymous—
Courage, The Armed Sentinel..... 9
Judging a Nation..... 18
Our Government the Model..... 33

Bacheller, Irving, Scientific Farming..... 122
Beveridge, Albert J., The Battles of the People.... 14
Bradley, Preston, Temptation Shows Worth of Person 35
Bradley, Preston, Today Is Yours..... 19
Brandies, Louis D., American Liberty..... 107
Burch, Rev. Charles S., Nation Faces a Mighty Task 118
Butler, Nicholas Murray, The Mark of a Real Man.. 44

Carnegie, Andrew, The Qualifications for the Successful Young Man..... 11
Choate, Rufus, Actions 10
Choate, Rufus, The Aim of Deliberative Eloquence. 13
Churchill, Winston, The Crucible of Democracy.... 96
Curtis, George William, The Best Man 11
Curtis, George William, Patriotism 77
Curtis, George William, Victory 11

Ellis, William T., The World's Unrest..... 67
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, Self-Reliance..... 74
Everett, Edward, Human Knowledge 18

Everett, Edward, The National Character..... 10
Everett, Edward, The Work of the Minority..... 12

Ferris, Honorable Scott, The True Test of a Country 22
Forbes, B. C., Strength Realizing Weakness..... 49

Giddings, Franklin H., Reason and Force..... 44
Gilder, Richard Watson, The New Patriotism..... 16
Gunsaulus, Frank W., Defeat and Triumph..... 89
Gunsaulus, Frank W., Greatness of Soul..... 9
Gunsaulus, Frank W., Victory — Success — Man's Sublimest Moment 9

Hadley, Arthur T., A Clear-Headed Man Hard-Hearted 11
Haldane, Vincent, How to Succeed..... 40
Harrison, Leon, Earnestness and Thoroughness..... 114
Holmes, John Haynes, Is Life Worth Living..... 56
Huxley, He Only Is Advancing in Life Who * * * 9

Indianapolis Star, Effect of Paternalism..... 37
Iron City Trades Journal, Developing Men..... 25

Kearns, Rev. Ralph D., Robert Burns Knew Struggles of Man 38

Lincoln, Abraham, Gettysburg Address..... 87
Lodge, Henry Cabot, The Power of Law..... 53

MacLean, George Edwin, Americanism..... 110
McDonald, John A., A Common Struggle for the Common Man 31
McKinley, William, Duty..... 12
Milwaukee Journal, Laugh Away the Clouds..... 21
Milwaukee Journal, What America Means..... 121
Minneapolis Journal, Citizenship..... 124

Morgan, Dr. O. S., Improvement in Farm Life..... 70
Mullins, Edgar Y., The Battle for Righteousness.... 113

Phillips, Wendell, Lift a Man..... 10
Phillips, Wendell, The Labor Question..... 60
Porter, Horace, The Future of America..... 113

Reed, The Man Who Lives Forever..... 11
Roosevelt, Theodore, Ideal Civilization No Impossible Dream 23
Root, Elihu, The Spirit of Self-Government..... 46
Ross, Edward A., The Beginning of Goodness..... 15

Sand, George, Peace of Mind and Happiness..... 18
Saturday Evening Post, Why Americans Succeed... 28
Savage, Minot Judson, D. D., What Is Education.. 16
Schurman, Jacob Gould, The New Politics..... 116
Sheridan, Courage Keen and Polished..... 9

Taft, William H., The Dawn of World Peace..... 47
Thompson, The Commanding Words "I Will"..... 9
Thwing, Charles F., D. D., Judgment..... 13
Tucker, William Jewett, LL. D., Human Progress... 13

Whitlock, Brand, City Government..... 108
Wilson, Woodrow, Self-Government 17
Wilson, Woodrow, Citizenship in America..... 117
Wilson, Henry N., Education and Responsibility... 111

Yeoman, Edward, The Fertilizing Function of Art.. 27